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the hands of some insolent aristocrat. But worse than this is the danger of foot-pads (302-304), or even from the *grassator* (305-308). To the situation Juvenal had in mind one can find endless parallels in writings which have to do with life in England or in Ireland in the eighteenth century. Compare, for example, what Dickens, in Chapter I of *A Tale of Two Cities*, has to say of life in England in 1775:

In England, there was scarcely an amount of order and protection to justify much national boasting. Daring burglaries by armed men, and highway robberies, took place in the capital itself every night; families were publicly cautioned not to go out of town without removing their furniture to upholsterers' warehouses for security; the highwayman in the dark was a City tradesman in the light, and, being recognized and challenged by his fellow-tradesman whom he stopped in his character of "the Captain" gallantly shot him through the head and rode away; the mail was waylaid by seven robbers, and the guard shot three dead; and then got shot dead himself by the other four, "in consequence of the failure of his ammunition", after which the mail was robbed in peace; that magnificent potentate, the Lord Mayor of London, was made to stand and deliver on Turnham Green, by one highwayman, who despoiled the illustrious creature in sight of all his retinue.

In Henry Esmond, Book III, Chapter XI, at the beginning, occurs the following passage:

Beatrix's departure took place within the hour, her maid going with her in the post-chaise, and a man armed on the coach-box to prevent any danger of the road. Esmond and Frank thought of escorting the carriage, but she indignantly refused their company, and another man was sent to follow the coach, and not to leave it till it had passed over Hounslow Heath on the next day.

In Henry Esmond again, Book II, Chapter V, near the end, there is a reference to the road from London to Chelsea as bad and "infested with footpads".

Two passages from Thackeray's novel, *Barry Lyndon Esq.*, are worth quoting here. One occurs in Chapter XIV:

After having witnessed the splendours of civilized life abroad, the sight of Dublin in the year 1771, when I returned thither, struck me with anything but respect. It was savage as Warsaw almost, without the regal grandeur of the latter city. The people looked more ragged than any race I have ever seen, except the gipsy hordes along the banks of the Danube. There was, as I have said, not an inn in the town fit for a gentleman of condition to dwell in. Those luckless fellows who could not keep a carriage and walked in the streets at night, ran imminent risks of the knives of the women and ruffians who lay in wait there,—of a set of ragged savage villains, who knew neither the use of shoe nor razor; and as a gentleman entered his chair or his chariot, to be carried to his evening rout, or the play, the flambeaux would light up such a set of wild gibbering Milesian faces as would frighten a genteel person of average nerves. I was luckily endowed with strong ones; besides, had seen my amiable countrymen before.

The other occurs in Chapter XVI:

I have said, in a former chapter of my biography, that the kingdom of Ireland was at this period ravaged by various parties of banditti; who, under the name of Whiteboys, Oakboys, Steelboys, with captains at their

head, killed proctors, fired stacks, houghed and maimed cattle, and took the law into their own hands.

For brigandage in ancient Italy, reference may be made to Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, 208-213. For brigandage in modern Italy, reference may be made to Washington Irving, *Sketch Book*.

In conclusion, I copy, more fully, part of a paragraph from an essay of James Russell Lowell, *A Good Word for Winter*, to which I have already made reference, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 9.137:

. . . . Indeed, it is only within a century or so that the search after the picturesque has been a safe employment. It is not so even now, in Greece or Southern Italy. Where the Anglo-Saxon carves his cold fowl, and leaves the relics of his picnic, the ancient or mediaeval man might be pretty confident that some ruffian would try the edge of his knife on a chicken of the Platonic sort, and leave more precious bones as an offering to the genius of the place. The ancients were certainly more social than we, though that, perhaps, was natural enough, when a good part of the world was still covered with forest. They huddled together in cities as well for safety as to keep their minds warm.

C. K.

## AENEID 2.781 AND AENEID 3 AGAIN

### Aeneas's Attitude Towards Visions

In an earlier paper<sup>1</sup>, I expressed the belief that Aeneid 2. 781 is not necessarily inconsistent with Aeneid 3, because *Hesperia* in that line may be interpreted as meaning simply a Western land, not specifically Italy. It was also suggested in a note at the close that evidence of a different character may be found to reinforce this line of argument. Such evidence is to be sought in a consideration of Aeneas's attitude toward the various visions or manifestations that appear to him as messengers of the omnipotent and immutable fates.

These messengers are usually the gods, who themselves seem to bear much the same attitude towards the fates as Aeneas does in turn towards the gods. What the fates have willed, the gods cannot alter<sup>2</sup>. But the gods at least know the fates. Man cannot know them without the interposition of the gods.

Thus the Trojans set out on their wanderings uncertain whither the fates will bear them<sup>3</sup>; and so, in their need of guidance they are driven along by the omens sent by the gods<sup>4</sup>—omens which they receive in constant succession throughout Book 3<sup>5</sup>. Never do they show the slightest hesitation about doing the gods' will, once it seems to be understood.

Just so, when Mercury comes to stir up Aeneas during his slothful delay in Carthage<sup>6</sup>, Aeneas deliberates not as to *whether* he will or will not obey, but merely *how* to obey<sup>7</sup>; and, fortified by his faith, he remains unshaken

<sup>1</sup>See *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 13.200-212.

<sup>2</sup>Compare 10.404 ff., 471-472, 622 ff.; 11.584 ff.; 12.147 ff.

<sup>3</sup>7. 43.5. Compare 5.56-57, and Mr. Glover's discussion of this passage in his *Virgil*, 218.

<sup>4</sup>See 3.26, 59-61, 89, 137 ff., 143-144, 148 ff.

<sup>5</sup>4.259 ff. <sup>6</sup>4.283-286. Compare 281-282.

by Dido's successive pleas<sup>8</sup>, though his own personal suffering, as well as his pity for her, is obvious.

In his relations with his goddess-mother, Aeneas exhibits similar docility. We note this in the first description of a meeting between the two as soon as she has definitely revealed herself to him<sup>9</sup>. Venus envelops him in a mist<sup>10</sup>, which, when Dido's kindly intentions have been made manifest to him, he very much desires to break<sup>11</sup>, and his faithful companion Achates urges him so to do<sup>12</sup>. But Aeneas resolutely remains passive until the mist cleaves of its own accord—in other words, through the instrumentality of the goddess<sup>13</sup>, as is proved by her further 'present aid' in shedding new beauty over his person<sup>14</sup>. This whole scene is, of course, distinctly reminiscent of the corresponding one in *Odyssey* 7; but in the older epic there is no similar suppressed desire on the part of the hero, who acts as soon as he feels the impulse to do so:

and Odysseus cast his hands about the knees of Arete, and then it was that the wondrous mist melted off him<sup>15</sup>.

Venus likewise intervenes during the night of the fall of Troy, when, appearing to her son at once in her true person this time<sup>16</sup>—for there is no time to spare—she prevents his slaying Helen, and conveys him to his own home<sup>17</sup>, quelling the madness which he displays on this, the one occasion<sup>18</sup> when he actually loses control of himself<sup>19</sup>.

In general, Aeneas is represented as a very deliberate person, ever "this way and that dividing the swift mind"<sup>20</sup>, and rather lacking in initiative unless some deity supplies him with it<sup>21</sup>; but, when he is really convinced of what the gods have willed in his case, then he unfailingly and promptly obeys.

But—mark this!—it must be the *gods* who have so willed it; and he must be *convinced* that they have. Even the nymph Cymodoce, when she appears to him to utter a prediction and a warning<sup>22</sup>, has no immediate effect upon him. He merely is amazed, bewildered<sup>23</sup>. He does, it is true, ultimately act upon her advice; but this does not involve any change in his plans, only an additional wariness; and, besides, he knows that there is something really divine about Cymodoce and her companion nymphs, once the ships that the great mother of the gods herself had gladly given him<sup>24</sup>.

In the same way, Aeneas submits himself without hesitation to the guidance of the Sibyl<sup>25</sup> because he knows that she is indubitably inspired by Apollo. And he likewise consults Helenus, who, though a mere mortal, is still a seer, the interpreter of the gods<sup>26</sup>.

But in general, it is as Mr. Glover says<sup>27</sup>:

He does not take mandates except from the gods. Yet he is not unwilling to listen to advice from Anchises or Nautes, from the old and the trusted.

Anchises, of course, is not quite like any other man. To him, the wise and aged father, Aeneas owes the same sort of *pietas*—reverence and obedience—as he does to the gods. All through the perilous and momentous cruises on unknown seas, Anchises's control, despite the earlier statement that he will follow his son's guidance, is supreme and unquestioned<sup>28</sup>.

To Anchises there is no successor. No other *man* could take his place<sup>29</sup>. Aeneas himself assumes his father's task of interpreting the omens, as he does, for instance, on the occasion of the 'table-eating' in Latium<sup>30</sup>. Even now, Anchises's influence still prevails; it is one of Anchises's predictions that Aeneas recalls<sup>31</sup>. But none the less Aeneas is not so firm and fearless in his decisions as his father had been before him; he orders libations to Jupiter and prayers to Anchises<sup>32</sup>, and is doubtless much relieved at having his interpretation confirmed by an unmistakable sign direct from Jove<sup>33</sup>.

In another moment of perplexity, Aeneas is determined in his course by a vision of Anchises<sup>34</sup>. It is on this occasion that Aeneas had listened to the advice of old Nautes, referred to by Mr. Glover<sup>35</sup>; but this author, despite his customary sagacity, seems wrong in classing the counsels of Nautes with those of Anchises. Aeneas has by no means determined to act upon the former's suggestions, but on the contrary is vexed by many conflicting anxieties<sup>36</sup>, until Anchises appears to him to bid him obey Nautes's excellent counsels<sup>37</sup>.

If, then, Anchises is the only mortal whom Aeneas unquestionably and invariably obeys, is it to be expected that he should implicitly follow the counsels of Creusa? But, to be sure, her appearance to her husband is not a mere visit from a simple flesh-and-blood woman: it is a vision of some one at least half divine<sup>38</sup>. And this fact necessitates a study of the treatment regularly accorded in the *Aeneid* to visions and other peculiar manifestations of the unseen powers.

In the first place, there are certain signs that are indubitably from the gods, because there can be no other conceivable origin for them. Such are, for instance, the bleeding and the speech of a plant<sup>39</sup>, the thunder-bolt<sup>40</sup> that none but Jupiter<sup>41</sup> (or, on one special occasion, his favored daughter<sup>42</sup>) can hurl, the oracles that Apollo inspired<sup>43</sup>, and the pestilence that he

<sup>8</sup>4.305 ff., 365 ff., etc.

<sup>9</sup>1.402 ff. He had already revealed some doubts, as to her identity—327 and 372.

<sup>10</sup>1.411 ff. <sup>11</sup>1.579-581. <sup>12</sup>1.582 ff. <sup>13</sup>1.587. <sup>14</sup>588 ff.

<sup>15</sup>*Odyssey* 7. 142-143. The quotation is from the translation of Butcher and Lang. The italics are mine.

<sup>16</sup>2.591. <sup>17</sup>2.589 ff.

<sup>18</sup>For we cannot count his frenzied orgies of slaughter in the later books. These are introduced by Vergil as part of the epic convention established by Homer, and are quite out of keeping with the hero's own character.

<sup>19</sup>2.575 ff. Compare 2.314.

<sup>20</sup>Tennyson's apt paraphrase (*The Passing of Arthur*, 228) of 4.285, repeated 8.20.

<sup>21</sup>As Venus does in 12.554 ff.

<sup>22</sup>10.225 ff. <sup>23</sup>10.249. <sup>24</sup>8.88-89. <sup>25</sup>Book 6, *passim*. <sup>26</sup>3.359-361.

<sup>27</sup>Vergil<sup>3</sup>, 228.

<sup>28</sup>The very first order recorded in Book 3 (line 9) is his. Compare also 3.58, 102 ff., 610 f.

<sup>29</sup>It may be observed that practically the first thing Aeneas does after losing his father is to get into mischief. We cannot but feel that the trouble at Carthage would never have occurred had Anchises been alive. As it is, the gods have to intervene.

<sup>30</sup>7.120 ff.

<sup>31</sup>7.122 ff. Of course this is more or less inconsistent with 3.255 ff.

<sup>32</sup>7.133-134. <sup>33</sup>7.141 ff. <sup>34</sup>5.718 ff. <sup>35</sup>Vergil<sup>3</sup>, 228.

<sup>36</sup>5.719-720. <sup>37</sup>5.728-729. <sup>38</sup>2.788. <sup>39</sup>3.27 ff.

<sup>40</sup>2.693; 7.141-142. <sup>41</sup>Even the wisest men—the Stoics—of a later and more enlightened age, shared Aeneas's view here. Compare e. g. Horace, *Carm.* 1.34.

<sup>42</sup>8.523. <sup>43</sup>3.84 ff.; 6.77 ff.

sends<sup>44</sup>: all these things are unfailing omens, which the Trojans follow as a matter of course. But it should be noted that none of these tokens is a vision in any sense of the word.

A vision is something that *seems to be seen*—for I believe the passive *videtur* or *visus est* so commonly used in this connection unites *both* its fundamental meanings. It does not appear to make much difference whether the person who does the seeing is asleep or awake. When the shade of Creusa presents itself to Aeneas<sup>45</sup> while he is in the act of energetically searching for her, he is presumably wide awake. On the other hand, we are explicitly told that Aeneas is asleep on the occasion of Hector's appearance<sup>46</sup>, of Anchises's<sup>47</sup>, of the pseudo-Mercury's<sup>48</sup>, and of the Tiber's<sup>49</sup>. The epiphany of the Penates presents a somewhat different and difficult problem. They are introduced as appearing to Aeneas in his slumbers<sup>50</sup>, like so many of the other visions; but later on it is expressly said<sup>51</sup> that *nec sopor illud erat*. But the seeming contradiction merely, I think, serves to heighten the appropriately unreal and mystic atmosphere. Conington says<sup>52</sup>, "The truth seems to be that we have here a mixture of dream and vision"; but I should rather put it that there is really no differentiation between dream and vision<sup>53</sup>. The two seem to be described indifferently<sup>54</sup>—perhaps as a result of conscious desire on Vergil's part to reflect the old primitive view that the events of sleep are as real as those of our waking periods. And so, in dealing here with the question of these miraculous appearances, I shall not try to distinguish the two phenomena that Conington describes by the words "dream" and "vision" respectively.

Now, in every instance of these apparitions, there is the danger that the vision or the dream may be not a true guide, but one of those deluding, misleading figures the existence of which is several times referred to in the course of the Aeneid<sup>55</sup>. The vision of the false Calybe (in reality Allecto) to Turnus<sup>56</sup>, though she does reveal herself in the end, perhaps comes under this head; still more that of Somnus to Palinurus<sup>57</sup>. Palinurus himself is on guard, and asks distrustfully<sup>58</sup>, *Mene huic confidere monstro*<sup>59</sup>—a thoroughly proper attitude in the face of anything so dubious and fleeting as a phantom.

This attitude is Aeneas's own. He obeys no vision without due deliberation and additional proof. The god of the Tiber, on the occasion of his apparition to Aeneas, realizes the need for such caution, and, lest Aeneas think these events the empty figments of a

dream<sup>60</sup>, pledges tangible proof of his reliability in the shape of the white sow with thirty young which Aeneas actually does come across very shortly indeed<sup>61</sup>. The Tiber likewise carries out another promise<sup>62</sup>: he flows backward, gently bearing the Trojan's craft upon his bosom<sup>63</sup>.

Similarly in the appearance of the Penates, aside from the fact that Anchises at once acknowledges the truth of the vision<sup>64</sup>, thereby decisively absolving Aeneas from any further responsibility in the matter, additional confirmation is supplied by Anchises's recollection that Cassandra had made the self-same prophecy. She, too, like the Penates, had used both names, *Hesperia* and *Italia*<sup>65</sup>. There can be no more doubt in the matter.

Again, the second visit of Mercury to Aeneas in Carthage is, unlike the first, nothing but a vision. In fact, it is really not Mercury himself who comes, but a mere phantom of the god resembling him in appearance and expression<sup>66</sup>. However, there is no reason to question the desirability of obeying this manifestation. He is not bidding Aeneas alter his plans in the least, but is merely reiterating, in a more urgent form, the commands that Mercury himself—*deus certe*—no mere vision, but the actual divinity, direct from the side of Jove, had already impressed upon him. Aeneas does not doubt for a moment<sup>67</sup> the identity of his visitor, whose orders he proceeds promptly to put into effect.

The original visit of Mercury had probably served to prepare Aeneas for the vision of his father, who every night visits him in his dreams to utter the same words of warning<sup>68</sup>. Here, again, we have a dream figure—this time a man, though a particularly reverend one—seeking simply to repeat and stress commands known to be trustworthy, since they originally were issued by a manifest deity.

Anchises appears on a second occasion to Aeneas, and this time seems to influence him decisively<sup>69</sup>. It is at the moment of Aeneas's perplexity and distress after the burning of the ships by the women. Anchises tells his son to follow Nautes's suggestion, that is, to leave the weaker members of the party behind under Acestes, and then, with a chosen band of sturdy spirits, to set sail for Italy. Aeneas promptly complies. Of course, while Anchises lived, his pious son had yielded him the same obedience as he did to the gods, and—apart from him—to the gods alone; but is it quite safe to repose such confidence in a shadowy phantom that vanishes into thin air<sup>70</sup>? On the whole, yes. In the first place, the ghostly visitant says that he comes by the command of Jove<sup>71</sup>; it would take a pretty bold impostor to make such an assertion; Aeneas believes and repeats it<sup>72</sup>. Again, Anchises is offering a piece of advice that is not new to Aeneas. His own heart and mind must both alike be urging him to Italy. Nautes had already given

<sup>44</sup>3.137 ff. Compare our introduction to Apollo in the Iliad (1.44 ff.), and Achilles's unhesitating assumption that it must be by Apollo that the plague is inflicted (1.64).

<sup>45</sup>2.772. <sup>46</sup>2.270–271. <sup>47</sup>4.351–353. <sup>48</sup>4.554–557. <sup>49</sup>On 3.151.

<sup>50</sup>8.29–33. <sup>51</sup>3.150–151. <sup>52</sup>3.173. <sup>53</sup>Conington himself points out (*ibid.*) that the word *visi* (in 3.150) is applicable to both. We may compare its use in the same passage, 3.172 and 174, and also in 2.371, 773; 4.557; 5.722; 8.33.

<sup>54</sup>Thus we cannot be sure whether Aeneas is asleep or awake at the time of Anchises's appearance (5.722–723). It is night (compare 721); but the hero may have been spending the night in anxious vigil (compare 720).

<sup>55</sup>Compare 6.896; 10.642. <sup>56</sup>7.415 ff. <sup>57</sup>5.838 ff. <sup>58</sup>5.849.

<sup>59</sup>*Monstro* may mean the sea, as Conington says; but I cannot help feeling that there is at least a secondary reference to the prodigy confronting him.

<sup>60</sup>8.42 ff. <sup>61</sup>8.81 ff. <sup>62</sup>Made in 8.57–58. <sup>63</sup>8.86 ff.

<sup>64</sup>3.180. <sup>65</sup>3.182–185.

<sup>66</sup>4.556–559.

<sup>67</sup>His expression, *sancle deorum, quisquis es* (4.576–577), is probably, as Conington says, simply a stock formula of reverence.

<sup>68</sup>351–353. Compare 6.695–696.

<sup>69</sup>5.721 ff. <sup>70</sup>5.740. <sup>71</sup>5.726. <sup>72</sup>5.747.

him the counsel; and Nautes, old<sup>73</sup>, friendly<sup>74</sup>, privileged to represent Pallas herself<sup>75</sup>, is no mean counsellor. He, as only a fellow-man (for he is not speaking by divine authority here), is not necessarily to be obeyed<sup>76</sup>, but he *is* to be trusted and respected. Besides, Anchises is confirming a greater than Nautes—Helenus,—who, in his capacity of seer<sup>77</sup>, had already advised Aeneas to consult the Cumaean Sibyl<sup>78</sup> even as Anchises now does<sup>79</sup>. Aeneas shows his confidence in the vision in this connection also; for, when he does reach the Sibyl, he asks her to lead him down to Avernus<sup>80</sup>: Helenus had not suggested this, only Anchises<sup>81</sup>.

But there is one vision—a vision of a mere fellow-mortal—which Aeneas does not obey or regard; and this I purpose to discuss in some detail, as offering the best parallel to the Creusa incident. This is the vision of Hector, which appears to Aeneas at the beginning of that fatal night pictured in Book 2, and bids him flee<sup>82</sup>.

There is no mistaking the will of Hector. And as soon as Aeneas is thoroughly roused<sup>83</sup>, he receives indisputable evidence, by the testimony of his own ears<sup>84</sup> and his own eyes<sup>85</sup>, of the truth of Hector's words. Yet his first instinct—as indeed that of a brave warrior would naturally be—is toward defence, not flight. He does not seem to recall the vision of Hector—recent though it was and impressive though it must have been—even when he sees Panthus coming<sup>86</sup> with the very images that Hector had bidden him save<sup>87</sup>. On the contrary, he asks Panthus for advice as to what is to be done—and asks in a way that implies his belief that this action can involve fighting alone<sup>88</sup>. Panthus's answer is not encouraging, and Aeneas drifts rather aimlessly along where the fortune of battle calls him<sup>89</sup>, until finally the shouts issuing from those massed around Priam's palace draw him thither<sup>90</sup>. Here Aeneas assists at the latest struggle, and at the most poignant scene—the death of Priam, foully slain in the presence of his wife while he was a suppliant at the altar<sup>91</sup>.

Up to this moment of climax, Aeneas has perhaps been mad<sup>92</sup>; but, if the earlier shock served to banish his reason, this still greater one serves quite as effectually to restore it. Aeneas in his horror now for the first time<sup>93</sup> realizes all. He remembers his dear, helpless father; he remembers Creusa, whom he has forsaken; he remembers his home, perhaps the scene of a similar orgy of frightfulness; he remembers his little Iulus. Yet he does not remember—or at least he gives no sign of remembering—that strange, true dream that should assuredly, one would think, be fresh in his consciousness—does not recall it even with that vision of responsibility to the future that the thought of Iulus must surely bring to him.

He is quite sane now. His customary habits of deliberation have returned; he looks around and considers the forces about him<sup>94</sup>. But he does not turn toward home until Venus appears, commands him to take thought for his loved ones, and presents before his eyes, temporarily rendered clairvoyant, unquestionable evidence that nothing is left for him but flight, since the great gods themselves have so willed it<sup>95</sup>.

That soul shaking spectacle of Neptune and Juno and Pallas and the father-god himself, in all their rage and in all their might, of course convinces Aeneas. He proceeds to obey his mother. But she merely bids him flee from the immediate stress and strain of battle, and rescue his family<sup>96</sup>. Her thoughts center in getting him safely to his own threshold<sup>97</sup>, and go no further. As we should expect, Venus is concerned only for her son's safety and happiness, not for his duty. It was Hector alone who thought of the great mission that yet awaited him.

It is Venus, not Hector, that Aeneas obeys. He wishes merely to save his father, to carry him to the security of some mountain fastness<sup>98</sup>. But his father refuses to go. Aeneas, of course, is in despair. In the face of his father's stubborn resolution, with Creusa and Ascanius and the whole household weeping beside him, he has an awful choice to make. But it is *not* a choice between his father and the gods. If it were, surely he would sacrifice the man, as later he does sacrifice a woman—Dido. To abandon his father, to be sure, would involve a more severe strain on his *pietas*; yet we cannot doubt that the still loftier *pietas* would prevail. But it is not a question of that. Venus has sent him merely to his own home; he has fulfilled her commands; and as for Hector's talk of the Penates, he does not refer to that at all. Yet he *must* think of it now. Tense though the moment is, this is preeminently a time not for emotion, but for reason. Anchises is an essentially reasonable being. He speaks calmly and argumentatively<sup>99</sup>. Aeneas might have cited the authority of Hector in reply; but instead of this he merely refers to his mother<sup>100</sup>—and he does so in a tone which implies that he has practically given up hope of prevailing upon his obdurate father. The name of Venus is scarcely one to conjure with, I fancy, where Anchises is concerned.

Anchises is persuaded in the end, of course. But it is by the prodigy of the flame that plays around Iulus<sup>101</sup>, and then—still surer sign—the thunder-bolt<sup>102</sup>, that the task of winning him over is accomplished<sup>103</sup>. The words of Hector have played no part in producing this effect. Why does not Aeneas repeat them to his father, if not as a means of influencing him, at least as a subject for his interpretation?

The answer to this question, whatever it is, must, I think, also serve as an answer for the parallel question:

<sup>73</sup>5.704. <sup>74</sup>5.719. <sup>75</sup>5.704 ff. <sup>76</sup>Compare above, note 35.  
<sup>77</sup>3.358. <sup>78</sup>3.441 ff. <sup>79</sup>5.735 f. <sup>80</sup>6.105 ff. <sup>81</sup>5.736.  
<sup>82</sup>2.289 ff. <sup>83</sup>2.302. <sup>84</sup>2.301. <sup>85</sup>2.310 ff. <sup>86</sup>2.318 ff.  
<sup>87</sup>2.293. Surely Conington is wrong in his view (expressed on 2.296) that Hector is represented as actually bringing forth the images of the gods, not merely as appearing to do so. Aeneas does not awaken until after that (2.302); and it must be from Panthus (if not still later) that he receives the objects which are to become his sacred trust. <sup>88</sup>2.322. <sup>89</sup>2.337–338. <sup>90</sup>2.437.  
<sup>91</sup>2.506 ff. <sup>92</sup>Compare 2.314. <sup>93</sup>2.559.

<sup>94</sup>2.564. <sup>95</sup>2.589 ff. <sup>96</sup>2.596–598. <sup>97</sup>2.619–620.  
<sup>98</sup>2.635–636. <sup>99</sup>2.641–642. <sup>100</sup>2.664–665.  
<sup>101</sup>2.680 ff. <sup>102</sup>2.692 ff. Compare 2.691 and 703.  
<sup>103</sup>As a result, Anchises is now as eager to set out as Aeneas himself. Compare 2.701.

Why through Book 3 does Aeneas nowhere refer to Creusa's prediction concerning Hesperia? Both visions might well control his plans; both might well be referred to Anchises for consideration or explanation. Aeneas can have forgotten the one no more than the other. In the one case, to be sure, we may beg the question—not illegitimately—by a plea of inconsistency; but hardly in the other. Conington may readily, and even unanswerably, question the homogeneity of Book 3 with those which precede and follow; but internal unity surely characterizes the separate books<sup>104</sup>, and the second, I think, more than any of the others<sup>105</sup>. The possible omission of the Helen passage, even of the Laocoön passage, has been suggested, but never, so far as I know, of the Hector passage. And while we preserve this, and do not worry over its being incompatible with the immediately ensuing scenes, we need not, I think, be seriously troubled by any supposed inconsistency between the Creusa incident and Book 3.

The explanation in both cases is, I believe, the same. Just as Aeneas in real, flesh-and-blood affairs obeys gods, but not men (always, of course, excepting the special case of his father), even so he obeys the visions of gods (provided he is assured they are true), but not those of human beings<sup>106</sup>, even though those beings are half-sanctified by death or by a mystic state that is not unlike death. Thus, at the close of Book 2, when Anchises is actually seeking for guidance from the omnipotent father<sup>107</sup>, Aeneas does not think of putting forward his visit from Hector as a possible source of suggestion or enlightenment. And just so, all through Book 3, while the Trojans are similarly appealing for direction to divine sources such as seer and shrine, Aeneas does not offer Creusa's prophecy as promising to be of any avail. He does not mention it even when the final revelation comes and the Penates have made all clear. It would be natural then, perhaps, especially when Anchises is recalling the pertinent predictions of Cassandra<sup>108</sup>, for Aeneas to refer to the not irrelevant words of Creusa. But then this would scarcely be in keeping with his usual pious custom of leaving the interpretation of all supernatural matters exclusively to Anchises. Moreover, Cassandra has been proved a true prophet in other respects<sup>109</sup>, while Creusa has not. And, besides, while Cassandra has clinched the matter (though the Trojans had paid no attention at the time) by calling the country to be sought by its two names, Hesperia and the kingdom of Italy<sup>110</sup>, thereby removing all danger of ambiguity, Creusa had not. She had said merely *Hesperia*—a term (to my mind) not necessarily distinctive<sup>111</sup>.

<sup>104</sup>To be sure, we notice plenty of discrepancies in Book 6; but these may be explained as being due not to inadvertent lapses, but to Vergil's desire to include various contradictory theories, or even to the existence of distinct versions between which, as Norden believes, the poet would have chosen. The subject-matter of Book 6 would tend to militate against strict logic, but not that of Book 2, a simple straightforward narrative.

<sup>105</sup>Except, perhaps, Book 4.

<sup>106</sup>The conduct of other characters in the Aeneid when confronted by visions seems on the whole fairly consistent with that of the hero.

<sup>107</sup>2.691.

<sup>108</sup>3.183-187.

<sup>109</sup>Compare 2.246-247.

<sup>110</sup>3.185.

<sup>111</sup>See my former paper, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 13.209-212.

In short, the vision of Creusa, as that of a mere mortal, would not in itself (according to Aeneas's ordinary practice) serve to attract much attention. Her special words in regard to the land destined for the Trojans, being couched in terms that might readily be interpreted as more or less vague and general, would likewise fail to appear especially significant. And consequently we need not sacrifice (nor need we believe that Vergil would have sacrificed) either the third book or an episode which, though Aeneas himself at the time may not have attached to it any grave importance, yet, it seems to me, for reasons set forth at the beginning of my earlier paper<sup>111</sup>, it is particularly valuable and desirable to retain.

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### Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals

- American Architect—Jan. 12, Roman Aqueduct, Tarragona [full page illustration of remains of fine Roman aqueduct].
- American Catholic Review Quarterly—Apr., Hellenism and the Jews in the Three Centuries Preceding Christianity, J. Simon.
- American Historical Review.—Jan., Tenney Frank, An Economic History of Rome (F. F. Abbott).
- Athenaeum—Dec. 10, Horace in English, V. R. = (F. Coutts and W. H. Pollock, *Icarian Flights: Translations of Some of the Odes of Horace*; L. L. Shadwell, *The Odes of Horace Translated into English Verse*; H. D. Ellis, *English Verse Translations of Selections from the Odes of Horace, the Epigrams of Martial, and other Writers*) ["The best solution of the difficulty of translating Horace is not to attempt a strict translation at all, but a paraphrase which, keeping all the Horatian ideas, finds room to develop them"].—Dec. 17, Back to Aristotle = T. S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood* (L.W.) [compliments Mr. Eliot on the fact that his method in literary criticism has much in common with the method of Aristotle's *Poetics*]; Marjorie M. Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (H. F. F.) [This book deals with the question of the original order of the books and other problems of the composition of the Aeneid; "Thorough and sane"].—Dec. 24, (P. Colum, *The Children's Homer*. Illustrated by W. Pogany [the story of the Iliad and the Odyssey retold for children].—Dec. 31, *Classical Translations*, F. L. L. (L. Ellis, *Agamemnon*; P. Claudel, *Les Choéphores d'Eschyle*; R. Aldington, *The Poems of Meleager of Gadara*; E. Storer, *The Windflowers of Asklepiades, and the Poems of Poseidippos*; A. Lothair, *The Golden Treasury of the Greeks*; V. Stebbing, *Some Masterpieces of Latin Poetry*).
- Burlington Magazine—Nov. 15, J. D. Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* (W. L.) ["best arranged catalogue we have so far read"; "the reproductions are remarkably clear"].
- Catholic Educational Review—Oct., *The Inductive and Direct Methods of Teaching Latin*, R. J. Deferrari.
- Contemporary Review—Dec., I. Bywater, *Aristotle's Poetics* [with Introduction, by Gilbert Murray, who believes that Aristotle took up the challenge which Plato had thrown down in his denunciation of poetry].
- Deutsche Rundschau—Oct., *Die Götter Homers*, T. Birt.